

GERARD OF CREMONA: THE DANGER OF BEING HALF-ACCULTURATED

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ABSTRACT

This article calls for a nuanced reappraisal of the talents of Gerard of Cremona, the most prolific of the so-called “Toledan Translators” of the twelfth century. By carefully examining his translation of a wide-ranging text of al-Farabi and comparing it with the translation made by Dominicus Gundisalvus a tentative evaluation of his knowledge of specific content areas, of Islamic culture, and his skill and practices as a translator is put forth as a contribution to the increasingly sophisticated understanding of this important epoch in medieval intellectual history.

Gerard of Cremona is without doubt one of the central figures of the twelfth-century translation movement. Depending upon who is counting, he was personally responsible for as many as seventy-four translations of Arabic works. It is not simply the number of his translations which commands attention, but there is a great deal of interest in which works he translated for he was responsible for some of the most important translations of Arabic astronomy, science, philosophy, and mathematics. Historians throughout the twentieth century have held him in great respect. In Richard Lemay’s summary, “Gerard’s translations made a decisive contribution to the growth of medieval Latin science. The impact of his work was felt well into the early modern period.”¹ In spite of the admiration in which he has been held, few people have been inclined to study his technical skill as a translator. Among the few scholars who have done so, the verdict on his translations is decidedly mixed.² These critical conclusions are not simply reactions to his methodical,

¹ “Gerard of Cremona.” *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, Supplement, 173.

² The three studies are: Lemay, “Gerard of Cremona”; Paul Kunitzsch, “Gerard’s Translations of Astronomical Texts, especially the *Almagest*,” in *Gerardo Da Cremona*, ed. Pierluigi Pizzamiglio (Cremona, 1992), 75; and Michael C. Weber, “The Translating and Adapting of al-Farabi’s *Kitāb Ihṣā al-ʿulūm* [*Book of the Enumeration of the Sciences*] in Medieval Spain,” Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1996.

word-for-word translating which produced an inartistic Latin and a syntactical nightmare; rather, in some subject areas he appears to have had no comprehension of the concepts that lay behind the Arabic he was laboring to bring into Latin. In addition, in places he appears to have been blissfully unconcerned that his translations created Latin nonsense! While we must regard Gerard's efforts at producing a Latin corpus of philosophico-scientific texts as unequalled and admirable, we need to temper that admiration with sober awareness of his limitations and the recognition that his acculturation to the Arabo-Islamic world was only partial.

I became aware of those limitations while studying the translation Gerard made of al-Farabi's *Book of the Enumeration of the Sciences* (*Kitāb Ihṣā' al-'ulūm*) in comparison with the epitome of the text made by Dominicus Gundisalvus, archdeacon of Toledo, known as the *De Scientiis*.³ The *Enumeration* is a felicitous text to use in studying Arabic-Latin translating not only because we possess two Latin translations of (in all probability) the same Arabic original, but also because of its contents. The *Enumeration* is a didactic guide to what the tenth-century Muslim philosopher al-Farabi thought every educated person needed to know. As such, within the Islamic world it functioned as something of a syllabus and covers some thirty-nine "sciences" (Arabic *'ulūm*; Latin *scientiae*) in its five chapters.⁴ For any student wishing to master these sciences—whether a Muslim seeking the "foreign" and "Islamic Sciences" or Christian or Jew seeking the "Doctrina Arabum"—it was a convenient and well-respected introduction. However, the translator approaching this text was faced with the difficulty of needing to know Arabic technical terminology in subject areas as diverse as Islamic theology and geometry. Not only was the terminology extensive, but the arrangement of the subject areas was unique within the genre, including al-Farabi's sometimes extensive excursions, and might offer few clues to a translator as to what he might be

³ Angel Gonzáles Palencia, *Catálogo de las Ciencias* (Madrid, 1953) is a convenient edition containing a critical edition of the Arabic original (with its own Arabic pagination), Gerard's Latin translation, and an early printed edition of Gundisalvus' work; M. M. Alonso, *De Scientiis* (Madrid, 1954) has a critical edition of Gundisalvus' translation; Weber, "Translating and Adapting," has an English translation of Gundisalvus' version as the Appendix. There is currently no English translation of al-Farabi's text (though at least two are in preparation), and, as this article will make clear, Gerard's Latin is probably beyond the possibility of good translation.

⁴ There is a convenient summary of its contents in Majid Fakhry, *Introduction to Islamic Philosophy* (New York, 1970), and John Jolivet, "Classification of the Sciences" in Roshī Rashed, ed., *Encyclopedia of the History of Arabic Science* (London, 1996), 3: 1008f.

encountering in a chapter.⁵ If he did not understand the Arabic completely, the going could be rough. This is especially true in those chapters which discuss "Islamic sciences" that had no analog in the Latin West. As one might expect, Gerard of Cremona, who probably learned his Arabic only shortly before he began to translate, struggled most with Arabo-Islamic material while he could show signs of idiomatic translation in the areas he had studied throughout his life, particularly philosophy. In this paper, I want to show specifically what Gerard appears not to have understood by examining his translation of the *Enumeration*. At the end, I will draw the related implications together, discussing what this material reveals about Gerard's own education and interests, and show what it reveals about translating as it was practiced in medieval Toledo.

The Methodology of Translating

We have ample witness from manuscripts that word-for-word translation was, in one sense, the norm in Spain and definitely characterizes the work of Gerard. In one very early translation, John of Spain tells his patron that while he does not always translate literally—and that, in fact, no one could always do so—nevertheless, his goal is to do so, so that he does not depart too far from the truth.⁶ John's translations were in the period immediately before Gerard was active and may represent the current norm for translations from Arabic. However, that norm may only be a "Toledan" manifestation of the overall practice in medieval religious intellectual circles.⁷ On this point Sebastian Brock has shown that the practice of being a *fidus interpres*, though scorned by men of letters in antiquity, became the norm in Christian translation from the time of St. Jerome on.⁸ One hallmark of such translating is

⁵ Muhsin Mahdi's erudite analysis of the text appears in "Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Alfarabi's *Enumeration of the Sciences*," in Murdoch and Sylla, eds., *The Cultural Context of Medieval Learning* (Dordrecht, 1975), 113-147.

⁶ Lynn Thorndike, "John of Seville," *Speculum*, 34 (1959), 20-38 (26), who quotes the Latin; the text is of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Sirr al-asrar* [*The Secret of Secrets*] from the "Prologue."

⁷ Up to the end of the thirteenth century Jewish philosophical translators also *preferred* 'ot be-'ot translating and Maimonides had to encourage ibn Tibbon to translate more artistically "so that the subject be perfectly intelligible in the language into which he translates"; see T. F. Glick, "Introduction," *Convivencia*, ed. Glick, Mann, and Dodds (New York, 1994), 68.

⁸ Sebastian Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 20 (1979), 74.

the preservation of the word order of the source language in the destination language. As Gerard was working in a Christian milieu, like most of the other twelfth-century translators, it is hard to imagine him having a reason for abandoning this standard.

Gerard is patently—even painfully—literal in his rendering of the Arabic; as Lemay has optimistically characterized his translations, they are distinguished by “closeness to the Arabic original, preservation as far as possible of the construction of the Arabic sentences, and scrupulous rendering of nearly every word contained in the Arabic.”⁹ Gerard always found an equivalent Latin term for each Arabic word, even for those which ought to have been left untranslated, as for example using the Latin *vero* when it stand for the Arabic *inna*, a particle that would normally not be translated as it is simply the marker of a nominal clause. Paul Kunitzsch, who has studied Gerard’s forte, astronomical texts, is less charitable in his assesment of Gerard’s style: “one could even say it is some sort of Arabic in Latin words.”¹⁰ In addition, I have noticed that Gerard often literally puts Arabic into Latin characters, as he resorted to transliteration for many grammatical terms. This so troubled one later medieval reader that he took the pains to write marginal notes explaining that these strange words in the Latin text refer to grammatical terms used *apud arabum* and this commentator tried to give textbook-style definitions of them.¹¹ It has been supposed that one purpose behind Gerard’s method of being as faithful as possible to the original was to open access to the knowledge of the sciences that the Arabs possessed. However, as this glossator proves, his text as translated was so rough that it was not really useful to anyone else without interpretation.

The Difficulties of this Particular Text for this Particular Method

Al-Farabi’s *Enumeration* is divided into five chapters, each containing topically-related information, and these divisions were loosely based upon the divisions of the sciences of Late Antiquity as they had come to be utilized in the Islamic world. The five divisions are: 1) the science of language, 2) the science of logic, 3) the mathematical sciences, 4) the

⁹ Lemay, “Gerard of Cremona,” 175.

¹⁰ Kunitzsch, “Gerard’s Translations of Astronomical Texts,” 75.

¹¹ This corrector’s work appears in the margins of the Paris, Bibiliotheque Nationale MS Latin 3557, noted carefully in González Palencia’s *apparatus criticus*. Unfortunately, I have been unable to identify nor date this corrector. The knowledge of Arabic displayed is quite good and the corrections involve the proper identification of mostly grammatical terms.

sciences of physics and metaphysics, and, finally, 5) law, theology, and political science. Within each division there are several subdivisions so that thirty-nine individual branches of science are discussed. For a translator the first and last chapters were the most difficult, for they were the two most tightly tied to Arabo-Islamic culture. As we might suspect, Gerard, being a non-Muslim and non-native Arabic speaker, had the most trouble with these two chapters. In the chapters on philosophy and metaphysics—two subjects closely tied to his own heritage—he is more reliable. In the main, this is a problem of acculturation.

I want to demonstrate some of the particular difficulties his lack of acculturation coupled with his word-for-word translation methodology produced. In the first chapter, on language, al-Farabi had given the definition of what “canons” were, namely universal expressions. These were further qualified in his Arabic by the phrase “in so far as they present exhaustively all the things which are the subject matter of this art (or the majority of them).”¹² Gerard had rendered the underlined clause as “donec veniat super omnes res que sunt illi arti supposite (until they come over all things that are subject to this art).” While he has caught the gist of the passage, this is a good example of Gerard’s literal rendering of Arabic being problematical. There is a Latin word corresponding to every Arabic word; however, there is a problem with the sense of the Latin. In Arabic, verbs have as many as nine forms, each sometimes with a different shade of meaning. Here, the root meaning of the Arabic verb *aty* is “to come to” and Gerard has that correspond exactly to “veniat.” Thus, Gerard was translating according to the root meaning of the word; but by translating word-for-word, he misses the idiomatic Arabic meaning and produces Latin nonsense. For what does it mean to say in Latin that universal expressions “veniat super omnes res (come over all things)?” While the translation is literal, it obscures the sense of the passage and it is odd Latin: *venio super* sometimes means “to proceed against” something!¹³ Simply put, al-Farabi’s point must be that universal rules, canons, encompass all the cases; this does not seem to be clear from Gerard’s translation. Yet, curiously, this remains his standard technique. If Paul Kunitzsch’s supposition that Gerard knew no Arabic before he came to Toledo (and I think that conclusion is reasonable), and it was there that he learned the Arabic in the street and the marketplaces, then he might be expected to resort

¹² González Palencia, *Catálogo*, Arabic page 56.

¹³ *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List*, ed. Latham, s. v. *venio*.

to the most common meaning of a verb.¹⁴ At the same time, if he were working alone and relying upon some sort of elementary dictionary with words arranged by verbal roots, as most Arabic dictionaries have always been arranged, he could make the same kind of mistakes. Kunitzsch has noticed that such wrong readings of Arabic are responsible for “those absurd renderings from which neither his own critical mind nor the assistance of the native helper seemed to have protected him.”¹⁵ He seems to be absolutely unconcerned about the clarity of his Latin. The quality of his final translation is to me the most inexplicable element in all of Gerard’s work: he appears never to have read his Latin translations or else such egregious errors would have been caught. Moreover, these nonsensical passages call the whole theory of the use of dragoman assistants into question. Anyone fluent in Arabic would not have read the text as literally as Gerard has done. In fact, as one studies the whole of this translation it becomes absolutely untenable to believe Gerard had any assistance from any person who was fluent in Arabic or who was the product of Islamic culture.

There are very convincing errors that demonstrate that he had no native-speaker as a helper; let me cite two outstanding examples. In explaining the subject matter of theoretical geometry, al-Farabi had written: “Lines are considered in and of themselves in the common manner”¹⁶ Gerard renders the Arabic phrase *fi nafsihi*, as *in anima sua*, again a word-for-word rendering. This is not implied by the Arabic at all, for this is merely the ordinary reflexive construction. In Latin we should expect some variant of *se* or *ipse* as its equivalent; however, Gerard knew that the root meaning of the word *nafs* was “soul” and somehow here he must use *anima* to represent that sense even though it produces nonsense in this context and ignores the ordinary meaning of the phrase. Furthermore, this is a translating error that he makes *several times* in this same paragraph. Similarly, in the next sentence his choice of the verb *curo*, *curare* to translate the third form of the Arabic verb *blw/y*, “to take into consideration,” is barely adequate. The original Arabic clause in question should be translated to read “which does not take into consideration within which body they exist. “ But this Arabic verb has as its root meaning in this form, “to care for” or “to be concerned about,” even though here it must have the connotative sense of “take into con-

¹⁴ Kunitzsch, “Gerard’s Translation of Astronomical Texts,” 73-74.

¹⁵ Kunitzsch, “Gerard’s Translation of Astronomical Texts,” 75.

¹⁶ Gonz  les Palencia, *Cat  logo*, Arabic page 57.

sideration." Al-Farabi's whole point is that in whatever matter a geometrical form is found, that material does not effect the study of the form. While *curo* possibly can mean "pay attention to" I do not think that is what Gerard has in mind. Reading this whole section in the Latin as Gerard translated it, one is nearly led to think that al-Farabi believed that geometrical forms are sensate, having souls and capable of caring what kind of material they are embodied in! The method produced nonsense; even if the careful Latin reader could make a certain amount of sense of this, al-Farabi's meaning is certainly obscured.

A similarly produced—but more interesting—error occurs just a few paragraphs later. Here, al-Farabi is discussing the types of geometric solids. In a list of three dimensional figures we find "cubas, pyramides, speras, columnas, serratila, pinealia."¹⁷ All of these are clear except for *serratila*. Clearly this must mean something like, "little saw" from its root. It is not in any Latin dictionary but it stands for the Arabic term *manshurat* which means "prism."¹⁸ There was a perfectly good Latin word for prism: *prisma*. However, in form this noun is derived from a verb which means "to saw." Gerard's equivalent may be his own coinage of a noun derived from the equivalent verb. If so, at least for a while it may have caught on because it is used in at least one other manuscript for a triangular based prism.¹⁹ Once again, the Latin term reflects translation according to root. Or compare this error in the section on Music.

In the discussion of the fourth part of Music, Gerard had translated the Arabic *īqā'āt*, which means "rhythms," by the Latin *casuum naturalium*. *Casus*, which in classical Latin means, literally, "a falling down," generally has the sense of "occurrence," or "occasion." In medieval Latin it can also mean a "deficiency" or it can refer to a grammatical "case." In the *Arabic-Latin Glossary* which originated among bilingual Christians in Toledo in roughly the same time period as Gerard was translating, it means either "inflection of nouns" or "empty."²⁰ Whatever way one

¹⁷ *Gundisalsus De Scientiis*, 91; *Catálogo* (Gerard) 147, (al-Farabi), Arabic page 58.

¹⁸ Both Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, 4th ed. (Wiesbaden, 1979), and J. G. Hava, *Al-Farā'id: Arabic-English Dictionary*, 5th ed. (Beruit, 1982) have this meaning. Curiously, in Kazimirski's *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français* (Paris, n.d.), 2: 1260, he notes the Latin equivalent *cauterium serratum*. I am indebted to Herbert Mason for this reference.

¹⁹ Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 15.16, ff. 61v-62r. Charles Burnett has published it with a commentary in "The Instruments which are the proper delights of the Quadrivium: Rhythomachy, and chess in the teaching of Arithmetic in twelfth-century England," *Viator*, 28 (1997), 175-202. He kindly provided me with his accepted manuscript before publication.

²⁰ C. F. Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (Wiemar, 1899, and reprinted), s.v. *casus*.

wishes to construe the Latin, one ends up with something quite different than rhythm. How could this result? Again, it seems to be that the best explanation is that Gerard is translating according to root meanings. The Arabic verb, *wqʿ*, has at its root a similar ambiguity to the Latin *cado* meaning a “falling, happening, or occurrence.” Thus, he must have proceeded in some way similar to this: he recognized the Arabic verb that the noun was derived from, in this case no easy task for the root is doubly weak, and as the two words are written on the page, the verb form looks very different from the noun. Knowing that he needed a Latin nominal form derived from the verb equivalent to the ordinary Arabic verb’s root meaning, he produced a Latin noun derived from *cado*. He clearly could not have known what the Arabic noun meant even though he had recognized the correct verbal root. So his process produced morphologically equivalent terms but it was not a translation. One wonders if he ever did read the sentence he produced.

As mentioned at the outset, the final chapter of the *Enumeration* was very difficult for Gerard. To begin, the title of the chapter is “On the Sciences of Politics, Jurisprudence, and Theology.” Neither Gerard nor Dominicus Gundisalvus recognized that the third of these terms, *kalam* in Arabic, referred to theology and thus they both translated it as either *eloquendi* or *elocutionis*. One can imagine well their difficulties then trying to make sense of and translate what they thought was a text about rhetoric only to find an extremely involved and elliptical discussion of the differences among practitioners of Islamic theology; the process proved so difficult that Gundisalvus just stopped translating.

Once again in this chapter, we also see Gerard’s tendency to translate according to root when he lacks clear understanding of a term. As al-Farabi discussed the roles of specialists in Islamic law and theology, Gerard understood the person referred to as the lawyer; but the theologian he calls a *loquax*, a “talkative person.” As much as we might agree with his sentiment, I cannot believe he is being intentionally ironic. Instead, he chose this term because that is more or less the equivalent of the Arabic verbal noun, *mutakallimun*, derived from the verb *klm*, to speak, which only connotatively means “to discuss theology.” Gerard appears to have no idea who these talkative people are and what, exactly, they are talking about. Interestingly, he is not alone in this derivation, for the Latin-Arabic Glossary has the same equivalent.²¹

²¹ Glossarium Latino-Arabicum, s.v. *eloquendi*.

To be fair, we must note that when Gerard was in a field that he understood, he could produce an idiomatic translation. Lemay has observed his care in translating philosophical terminology.²² In this text, Gerard's one and only example of idiomatic translating occurs in the chapter on Metaphysics. It has been argued that Gerard's translation at that place is the very first time in Latin that the exact title *De Metaphysicis* is used for a work of Aristotle.²³ Gerard's rendering of the title of this science is not his usual word-for-word translation of the Arabic *fīma ba'da al-tabiya*, literally "about that which comes after physics" but is the truly idiomatic: "On Metaphysics." This can be readily explained by the fact that, as Paul Kunitzsch observed, Gerard "must have possessed a rather good education in classical Western traditions for very often—though not always—he inserts the correct names of Greek authorities or other Greek names, and sometimes technical terms, which appeared in the Arabic sources in more or less corrupt transliteration."²⁴ However, he could have known the names of scholars and texts from his previous training and then deduced the proper equivalent from the corrupt Arabic text.

Summary Conclusions

My study of Gerard's translating of the *Enumeration of the Sciences* finds the same characteristic methods that other scholars who have studied his translations of different books have found. Because we can test his translation against that of Gundisalvus, who was his contemporary and, I believe, his patron, translating in the same milieu, we can be reasonably sure that the errors and limitations he displays are his own. The most striking thing about Gerard's translating is his unconcern for the meaning of the Latin he produced. Even if he intentionally was translating as literally as possible, as some contend, he still needed to produce understandable Latin if his translation was to have any value. In this he fails at key places. His translation reads more like a rough draft than anything else. Sometimes Gerard's translation appears to me to be like the work of a hurried undergraduate student: it is not right but it is done.

I would suggest that Gundisalvus was the first to recognize this fact, and, in light of the original function of al-Farabi's work, he appears to

²² Lemay, "Gerard of Cremona," 175.

²³ Pérez Fernández, "Influjo del Arabe in el nacimiento del término Latino-medieval *metaphysica*," *Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Filosofía Medieval* (Madrid, 1979), 1:1100.

²⁴ Kunitzsch, "Gerard's Translations of Astronomical texts," 77.

have adapted Gerard's translation in order to make it useful: for whether studying the "foreign sciences" in Arabic or the "doctrina Arabum" in Latin, the introductory student needed a clear guide to fields of knowledge that he was unprepared to confront, without the burden of erroneous translation. All the passages so literally rendered by Gerard that they approached nonsense were then either carefully massaged or rejected by Gundisalvus. As I read them, the two translations were designed for different purposes and were done by translators of widely differing abilities. In our reassessment of Gerard, we must also give more credit to Gundisalvus and recognize that he had far more awareness of Arabic and the cultural world of Islam. If, as Rivera Recio speculated, Gundisalvus was indeed from an upper-class family on the frontier between al-Andalus and Christian Spain, then we would expect him to have less cultural distance from (i.e., to be more acculturated to) Muslims than a wandering scholar from north Italy.²⁵

In this regard it seems to me that one additional, long-standing theory must be addressed. In the translators' prologue to the Latin version of the *De Anima* of Avicenna, a book that Gundisalvus worked on, we find the most explicit expression of the dragoman theory of translating. Here we are told that one man (in this case a Jew), fluent in Arabic, read the text aloud and that a second man turned that into Latin, word by word. Perhaps this was the method that Gundisalvus employed at some point in his career. However, scholars have assumed that this was the norm for all Arabic-Latin translating that went on in northern Spain.²⁶ I have come to doubt that Gerard ever followed such a practice. There are two particular items from Gerard's translation that are revelatory in this regard: first, in the chapter on religion, he does not have a clue how to translate two of the simplest and most common everyday expressions used by Muslims—the kind any "man-in-the-street" Muslim or any Jew or Mozarabic Christian raised within Islamic culture—would know. In discussing religious law, al-Farabi twice had included the obligatory *tasbih*, the epithets of praise for God, immediately upon the mention of God. Gerard mistranslated the first of these, not recognizing the imperative form, and left the second one out alto-

²⁵ J. F. Rivera Recio, *La Iglesia de Toledo*, (Rome, 1966), *passim*.

²⁶ Practically any textbook will summarize this theory of "translating pairs" of Jews and Christians, or Mozarabs and Christians. What I call the "Old Model" was best expressed by Gabriel Thery nearly a century ago: "Ibn Daud read the Arabic text, he translated mentally into Romance, and Gundisalvus began with the Romance and turned it into Latin"; *Tolède, Grande Ville de la Renaissance Médiéval* (Oran, 1944), 44.

gether. Just like his mistranslation of the word for theologian, this clearly reveals that he had no assistance at this point in his text from anyone possessing the least familiarity with Islamic practice.²⁷ Second, as we have already seen, despite his supposed excellent philosophical education, even within the mathematical sciences—always an important part of the philosophical curriculum—he does not know the technical terms for relatively ordinary words like “prism” and “rhythm.” I cannot conceive of a native speaker of Arabic not knowing this kind of common terminology. Consequently, I view his translations as the work of a complete “outsider.” This explains the translator’s errors, and perhaps something of the reason he was so admired: he was strenuously trying to bridge a huge cultural chasm.

Still, his work reveals the danger of what I would call his being half-acculturated, or of being only one side of a cross-cultural exchange. In modern nomenclature, Gerard was an “early adopter” of the new Islamic learning.²⁸ As such he would have been in a very distinct minority. As a Christian cleric from outside the Iberian Peninsula, which he undoubtedly was, he seems to be very much like the others who came to the newly reconquered portions of Spain, wishing to mine its Arabic books for new knowledge but who had little interest or understanding of Islam: he is only interested in the intellectual culture. And as that culture recently has been described, his real interest was in Greek thought as it had survived in Arabic culture.²⁹ Furthermore, as an “early adopter” he had few around him to whom he could turn for assistance. Perhaps he did have a Mozarabic translating assistant but he certainly did not have a Muslim to help him; he had other *socii*, “associates,” and it is clear that they held him in high regard. But he was treated as the expert; as Daniel of Morley’s text and the *socii*’s biobibliography show, all the remaining scholars know less than him. His only real rival seems to have been Gundisalvus, who may have been his patron as archdeacon of Toledo, an office which usually oversaw all the educational functions of the cathedral. Moreover, Gundisalvus was more concerned to produce his own works (a phrase I use advisedly) based upon the new knowledge Gerard was laboring to bring to the Latins.

²⁷ *Catálogo*, Arabic page 100; the translation is on 172.

²⁸ The terminology is derived from modern studies of cultural diffusion as used by Richard Bulliet; see his *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (Cambridge, 1979) 29 and elsewhere. Whatever one thinks of Bulliet methods this theory remains sound.

²⁹ Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture* (London, 1998).

I suspect, though I cannot prove it at this time, that Gerard translated this text early in his career, perhaps at the behest of Gundisalvus, and used it as a program for his future translation.³⁰ That also would explain some of its characteristic faults: as this is a text that had little intrinsic merit other than as a guidepost to other texts, he seems to have wanted to get it done so that he could get on to the really important books. The educational philosophy embedded in it is rather too subtle to be easily observed. That recognition was left to Gundisalvus who reproduced most all of al-Farabi's text in his own expanded version called *De Divisione Philosophiae*. It was not the particular content material that interested him as much as the overall purpose and guidance it offered. Within that material, he had no interest in the more Islamic content at all; his was a scientific and philosophical pursuit. Furthermore, if it was his first attempt at translating Arabic, it should be expected to contain many mistakes that later translations would tend to avoid. It seems clear to me that he worked alone in translating this text, probably using some kind of glossary or word list organized by Arabic roots that had been produced by non-native speakers (similar to but not identical with the *Leiden Glossary*). Knowing these limitations, it is fair to say that Gerard of Cremona's acculturation to Islamic culture was incomplete, and probably not even desired. In other words, his was a half-acculturation, to the world of the "foreign sciences" as understood by Islamic intellectuals but not to Islam, and this was seemingly adequate for his own goals. This conclusion should give nuance to our understanding of the processes and motivations of the "One called Master" of the "Toledo School of Translators".

³⁰ Charles Burnett, "The Coherence of the Arabic-Latin Translation Programme in Toledo in the Twelfth Century," Research Reports, Preprint 78 (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1997), 10. Burnett plausibly shows how Gerard and his associates are probably following al-Farabi's guidelines.

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